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COLD WAR MYTHS

Ronald Steel

NEGROES AND VIETNAM

Howard Zinn

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"THE NEW MORALITY"

The debate continues

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Three years ago this week a nationwide furor was touched off by the revelation that four prominent Catholic theologians had been barred from a lecture series at Catholic University. The anniversary was marked at St. Xavier College in Chicago by an announcement that a spring symposium featuring ten renowned theologians has been cancelled. The ten theologians were to speak under auspices of the college's John XXIII Institute, March 31-April 3. They are: John Courtney Murray (a holdover from the Catholic U. list), Karl Rahner, Edward Schillebeeckx, Jean Daniélou, Joseph Sittler, George Lindbeck, Henri DeLubac, J. B. Metz, Yves Congar and Charles Davis. The symposium was planned by Father Patrick Burke, head of the theology department.

Announcement of the cancellation came from Sister Mary Olivia, R.S.M., in a mimeographed letter to the faculty on February 1. "In mid-November," it said, "problems concerning the symposium were raised by Archbishop John P. Cody when he met with Father Burke in Rome. Immediately upon the Archbishop's return to Chicago, we asked for an appointment; but this was unfortunately delayed. In a brief conversation on Monday (January 31), the Archbishop indicated that the symposium does not coincide with his norm for theological activities. We will continue to seek an opportunity to discuss the long-range program of the John XXIII Institute with the Archbishop. However, it is necessary at this time to cancel the symposium. I am certain that you realize how keen is our disappointment in this turn of events. . . ."

•

The National Apostolate for Prayerful Driving has been formed to put a plastic Sacred Heart onto every Catholic driver's dashboard. It is billed as "A new, exciting, modern crusade" and as "a practical answer to the ever- increasing dangers of our overcrowded streets and highways." A pamphlet shows a driver, along with his wife and daughter, driving briskly along with eyes riveted on the plastic statue rather than on the road. (A friend suggested that this may be why the crusade is so exciting.)

•

Dan Herr has settled the question of whether Christ carried a draft card by turning up this quote from *Today's Family*: "Indeed He did. It is true to say that the Son of God was drafted by His Heavenly Father to do the work of our salvation. The Divine Child born in Bethlehem came to do battle with the enemy of mankind—Satan—and it was a battle to the death. His Father's will and command was that He should die on the cross. In His death, He conquered our death, and in His resurrection He restored us to a new life. Looking at it this way, it is quite evident that the draft dodgers and extreme pacifists might stop looking at themselves as followers of Christ."

•

In response to our non-admiring reflections on Father William Miller's publicity campaign against urban renewal, and his discovery of a link between urban renewal and Communism, we received a packet from the priest. In it are several pamphlets: "How to Improve Your Disposition," "Who's A Liar?" "How Ignorant Are You?" "Are You Becoming an Alcoholic?" "How to Check Your Anger," and "How to Keep Your Mental Health."

•

Several friends of Father Daniel Berrigan, S.J., who somehow don't think we'll ever see him returned to New York, sent us this clipping from the New York *Times* of January 27, 1966. "SYRACUSE—The Rev. James P. Cotter, executive editor of *Jesuit Missions*, Inc., announced today that within two months he would make a Jesuit priest available to the division of overseas ministers of the National Council of Churches for work on its staff. The priest has not yet been selected, he said. . . ."

•

John Howard Griffin, novelist and author of *Black Like Me*, is the 1966 winner of Assumption University's annual Christian Culture Award. Previous winners include Sigrid Undset, Jacques Maritain, Christopher Dawson, John Cogley, Karl Stern and William Foxwell Albright.

•

Jesus-is-the-Divine-son-of-a-God-in-whom-I-do-not-believe: A survey of various church groups in the magazine *Trans-Action: Social Science and Modern Society* shows that 86 percent of the Catholics who were polled are sure that Christ is God, but only 81 percent are sure that God exists.

•

The same poll, undertaken by Charles Glock and Rodney Stark of the Survey Research Center at Berkeley, shows that among Protestants, belief in God declines about in proportion to the theological liberalism of the denominations, ranging from Southern Baptists (99 percent are certain) to Congregationalists (41 percent). The over-all Protestant average is 71 percent, compared to 81 percent for Catholics. Other comparisons follow:

Certainty in a life after death: Protestants 65 percent, Catholics 75 percent; belief in love of neighbor as necessary to salvation: Protestants 58 percent, Catholics 65 percent; belief that Christ is the Savior – is it absolutely necessary for salvation?: Protestants, 65 percent yes, Catholics 51 percent yes; belief that being of the Jewish faith is a certain barrier to salvation: Protestants 10 percent; Catholics 1 percent; absolute certainty as to the existence of Satan: Protestants 38 percent, Catholics 6€ percent; belief that artificial contraception is a certain barrier to salvation: Protestants 2 percent, Catholics 23 percent.

JOHN LEO

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CORRESPONDENCE

Artificial Contraception

San Francisco, Calif.

To the Editors: According to Father Gregory Baum, O.S.A. (December 24), the Pope will never be able to bind the consciences of all Catholics in the matter of artificial contraception: "Since the conscience of the Church is so deeply divided on this issue and since the solution is in no way contained in divine revelation, the authoritative norms which the Pope himself, as universal teacher, will propose in due time, shall not be a definitive interpretation of divine law, binding under all circumstances, but rather offer an indispensable and precious guide for the Christian conscience."

In other words, on the subject of artificial contraception, Peter has no power of the keys. He cannot bind and loose. When the shepherd now speaks on this issue, he need not be obeyed.

Does the Pope have no right to decide whether this matter is indeed contained in divine revelation? What is the meaning of "an indispensable and precious guide for the Christian conscience" when this guidance may be ignored in practice? If this guidance is truly indispensable, it binds under all circumstances.

The entire Department of Theology of the University of San Francisco finds the doctrine of papal authority contained in this article by Father Gregory Baum untenable.

(REV.) ALBERT J. ZABALA, S.J.
Chairman, Department of Theology
(REV.) FRANCIS J. BUCKLEY, S.J.
Secretary, Department of Theology
University of San Francisco

Reply

Toronto, Ont.

To the Editors: The infallibility of the Pope, according to Vatican I, goes as far as the infallibility of the Church and for this reason extends only to

(*Continued on page 591*)

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THE ST. JOHN'S STRIKE

More than one hundred teachers are still away from their classes in this, the sixth week of the strike at St. John's University. The issue, entangled in a three-year dispute of bitterness and bad faith, concerns the firing of 31 teachers last December. The Administration considers these dismissals routine. We do not. All were fired without warning, without stated cause, without hearings, and in most cases, without the opportunity to return to their classrooms after the holidays to complete the school semester.

In retrospect, the mass firing seems a spasm on the part of a beleaguered, confused Administration. Certainly the public reaction was as badly misjudged as was the staying power of the dissident teachers for most of the past, turbulent year at St. John's. There is no point in rehashing the sorry history of the dispute, the illusions of the Administration, or the missed opportunities on both sides. It might be pointed out, however, that academic conditions at St. John's, stuffy as they are, do not explain the furore here. Many another Catholic college, currently basking in blissful obscurity, needs an overhaul just as badly. Only the tactics of the Vincentian Administration have provided the difference.

Just one of these missteps is behind the strike—the mass firing. As improbable as it may sound, given the depth of emotions at the University, the very narrowness of the current dispute offers some hope for working toward an eventual solution. Whatever the provocations, there is no excuse for a mid-term purge, nor any precedent for it in American academic history. If it is allowed to stand, what hope can there be that St. John's will ever be taken seriously as a respectable university?

The Administration's performance since the firings is depressing in the extreme. It has coldly rejected at least six attempts by outside agencies to help toward a solution. It has manipulated, to its favor, the statistics on the

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striking teachers. After disdaining the AAUP, it suddenly packed the local chapter with every available Vincentian and ordered them to vote, en bloc, for an AAUP condemnation of the strike. While refusing to say why the teachers were fired, it has repeatedly hinted at some unnamed charge of moral turpitude, which the striking teachers, understandably, have denounced as a smear tactic.

The misconceptions at St. John's have deep roots. Only recently, Father Tinnelly could tell the faculty that under canon law the teaching of theology and philosophy at St. John's must proceed from Thomistic premises, and that the teacher may not even secretly hold any other kind. (A letterwriter in this issue points out, as Father Tinnelly did not, that the canon in question applies to seminaries, not universities.)

It is clear that something must be done with St. John's. It is the responsibility, not only of the Vincentian Fathers, but of the whole Church as well. The process of correction will not be easy, but it must begin with a solution to the current impasse over the fired teachers. To that end, we urge that the hierarchy step in and get the necessary negotiations started. Perhaps a fact-finding board, operating in private, will be the first step. The current situation is a disgrace and must not be allowed to continue.

WHO SPEAKS FOR CATHOLICS?

Two weeks ago in these pages we went on record in favor of a liberalization of the antiquated New York State divorce laws. While we have some reservations about the bill currently under discussion (especially in its provision for divorce by simple mutual consent), by and large it is working in the right direction.

The main problem in New York, however, is the presumed opposition of the hierarchy to any significant change. Such opposition has been credited in the past with torpedoing any possibility of reform. This year the position of the New York bishops is not altogether clear. They have not directly spoken out against a change, but they presumably stand behind the efforts of Charles J. Tobin, Jr., Secretary of the New York State Catholic Welfare Committee, to postpone action on the liberalization bill. The New York papers (inaccurately perhaps, even if understandably) have been treating Mr. Tobin's statements as directly reflecting the position of the hierarchy.

Leaving aside the factual question of the precise position of the Bishops, there seems little doubt that the general public, the press and many members of the legislature assume that episcopal opposition means the same thing as "Catholic" opposition. That is, it is taken for granted that if the Bishops oppose some legislation, it automatically follows that the mass of Catholics will be equally resistant. Perhaps this was once the case; in some situations it could still be the case. But as a working political principle it has serious limitations today. The position taken by the Bishops on any specific matter of social legislation will, on the face of it, represent their position alone. Whether Catholics as a whole support their position or oppose it is quite another question—and a question which can only be answered by an attempt on the part of legislators to discern the actual state of Catholic opinion. For the purposes of legislation, the latter facts should count far more heavily than episcopal statements. The Bishops' problem concerns the formation of Catholic opinion; the legislators' problem is that of ascertaining this actual opinion.

Unfortunately, it remains extremely difficult—short of expensive sociological investigations—to determine what the mass of Catholics do think on any specific issue. A legislator may suspect that, should he vote in opposition to the desires of the Bishops, he might have considerable popular Catholic support. But he can rarely be sure; hence, it is easy to understand why legislators have taken episcopal positions as the easiest, most accessible index of Catholic sentiment.

Fortunately, this time around in New York an independent lay voice has asserted itself on the divorce bill. Initiated by 18 prominent laymen, mainly politicians and jurists, a "Committee of Catholic Citizens to Support Divorce Reform" has been formed. Its purpose is simply to indicate that there does exist a body of Catholic opinion favoring a significant reform of the divorce laws. Moreover, the Committee plans to use its influence for change, to testify at hearings and to contact legislators directly.

We welcome the formation of this committee, not simply because we ourselves favor a change in the laws, but because we think it essential that legislators begin realizing that a lay opinion exists and can be taken seriously. Put more directly, we think that Bishops have to speak to the laity, instructing them where necessary. But it does not thus follow that they can speak for the laity; only the laity can speak for the laity. Of course considerable difficulty could be avoided if, before issuing any public statements in the name of the Church on matters of public policy, the Bishops first consulted in an orderly and comprehensive fashion with the laity—then something of a broad Catholic consensus might be formed. But since that is not now done, the wise legis-

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lator should not assume that the hierarchy necessarily speaks for all Catholics, or even most, on any specific piece of legislation.

WINTER IN THE DELTA

During the same week that President Johnson, conferring in Hawaii, called for a "social revolution" in the Mekong Delta of South Vietnam, over a hundred impoverished Mississippi Delta Negroes sought shelter from the winter in unused Air Force barracks. They were physically ejected by military police flown in for the job, thus adding another lamentable irony to the number Howard Zinn lists in his article "Negroes and Vietnam," elsewhere in this issue. It comes as no surprise, then, that as they were carried and dragged from government property, the Negroes and some white civil rights workers shouted about Vietnam as well as about the hypocrisy of civil rights legislation.

The facts of the case are that these people plus about 60 other Negroes evicted from Delta plantations last summer after an unsuccessful strike are living in a tent city in sub-freezing weather. They are jobless, without adequate food, and can expect no improvement in the spring, when automation and new federal production controls will have reduced farm employment by 25 to 50 percent from last year. The tent community, called Strike City, is a throwback to the Hoovervilles of the Thirties, the proverbial Valley Forges of rugged individualism. The management goons are now U.S. military personnel. According to the New York *Times* story, a major-general, flanked by three colonels, two lieutenant-colonels and two majors, gave the order to eject the people.

The Negroes were first asked to leave the barracks, but they voted unanimously to stay put. It is hard to see how they could have done otherwise, that is, willingly leave a warm building with nowhere else to go but a freezing tent. There were children among them. The highest authority involved in the decision to evict was reportedly the Air Force Vice-Chief of Staff, but it is hard to believe the military could make such a decision without consulting civilian authorities. In fact, it is intolerable in this country to think they had the presumption.

For their part, the Negroes believed free food was available in Mississippi but wasn't being distributed. The same day, possibly in response to their plight, the Office of Economic Opportunity promised that food would be available in a day or two. In November the agency had made $1.6 million available for food distribution, but the State of Mississippi had failed to set up a non-discriminatory administrative board until the day of the "live-in." Several days after the eviction, the federal agency announced another $1.2 million grant. But five days after the eviction, the actual food had not been distributed. Episcopal Bishop Paul Moore, Chairman of the Commission on the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches, said that "2,200 families have been told to vacate plantation shacks in the Delta this winter, and thousands more are in dangerously inadequate housing."

It is hardly decent anymore to bemoan the existence of poverty in the midst of plenty. Nor is it quite adequate to offer advice about the best way to petition one's government. In point of fact, many of the Negroes living in the tents are connected with the Freedom Democratic Party, which is regarded as a nuisance by the national party. Maybe President Johnson might be prevailed upon to call a temporary suspension of the freezing temperatures, for there's a cold wind blowing through this country, and God help man, woman or child who must bear it without the shelter of property.

LABOR'S JUST COMPLAINT

The labor unions have begun to complain about the President's wage-price guideposts—and well they might. The best possible evidence for their argument has now been supplied by an unexpected source: General Motors Corporation. All General Motors did was tell the world how much money it made in 1965; and labor's case was made.

The wage-price guideposts are based on the theory that wage increases must be tied to the increase in over-all national productivity, so that demand does not outstrip supply, causing price rises and inflation. But wage demands are obviously related to corporative profits; and so the guideposts proposed that increase in profits be likewise limited by the rate of increase in national productivity. When profits are rising faster than productivity, the excess should be returned to the public in the form of price *cuts*, lest workers have grounds for inflationary wage demands.

A few spectacular cases of pressure from the government have generally convinced the public that the guideposts have been more severely enforced against business than labor. But these few cases involved industries where prices were being *raised*. Totally ignored has been the obligation of industries with rising profits to cut prices. The result? Throughout 1965, labor unions were urged to limit their demands to a 3.2 per-

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cent increase in wages (in keeping with the 3.2 percent annual increase in national productivity). And, in fact, labor gains did stay between 3 and 4 percent. But meanwhile corporations enjoyed a 20 percent increase in profits.

Now General Motors, the nation's largest company, reveals it has done even better. Its profits after taxes in 1965 jumped by 23 percent. In 1964, screams of anguish went up when the United Auto Workers obtained a contract from General Motors which went only slightly beyond the wage-price guideposts. Who's complaining now?

The wage-price guideposts have merits. Their existence is an admission of the need for national economic planning. But the guideposts have serious drawbacks. First, it is not excessive profits but the *visibility* of these profits which the guideposts fear will lead to inflationary wage demands. And since the accumulation of profits or the failure to cut prices can never be as visible as wage demands made during controversial contract negotiations, the burden of public pressure is always on labor.

Second, the wage-price guideposts are presented as though they derive from "natural" and impartial economic criteria, when in fact they mask very important political judgments about the kind of society America will be. Implicit in the guideposts is the assumption that the proportions of America's wealth enjoyed by various sectors of the population should remain constant. Since the share of the Gross National Product which goes to the wealthiest 20 percent of Americans is about 10 times that going to the poorest 20 percent, we cannot agree that this assumption is in accord with justice.

The wage-price guideposts could be a step to a more rational, democratic system of economic planning, in which social as well as economic criteria played a part. But if they are merely to become guarantees for General Motors' prosperity, then labor's revolt is fully justified.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

THE TRANSPORTATION TANGLE

One of the surprises in President Johnson's State of the Union message last month was his request for a cabinet-level Department of Transportation. This has been a favorite idea of reformers interested in transportation problems; Senator Clifford Case, New Jersey Republican, and other members of Congress have from time to time introduced bills to create such a department, but no one expected President Johnson to espouse the change this year.

A British friend of mine who works at the World Bank expressed mystification that such a department had not been set up long ago or that its proposal now should be expected to stir any controversy. "Whenever the Bank sends a mission to even the most underdeveloped country, we assume as a matter of course that it will have a Ministry of Transport. Why doesn't the United States as the most developed country in the world have one?"

The principal answer is that ours is the only country in the world in which all the major forms of transportation—railroads, airlines, trucking, buses, barge lines, and merchant marine—are in private ownership. Each of them has at various times received enormous subsidies: land grants for the railroads, mail subsidies and the construction of airports for the airlines, government-built superhighways for the trucks and buses, canals for the barges, and construction subsidies for the merchant marine. But when planning and regulation are under consideration, this public largesse is forgotten. It is not in the interest of the various private operators to call it to anyone's attention, and the public tends to accept the myth that a railroad or an airline is a private enterprise quite like any other.

If most or all of these transportation elements were government-owned, it would clarify the nature of the nation's transportation problems. It would then be apparent that the genuine competition is not between rival airlines (such as United vs. TWA) or between rival railroads (the Pennsylvania vs. the New York Central) but between the different types of transport. The railroads compete with the airlines and buses for passenger traffic; they compete with the barge lines for certain freight business and with the trucks for other kinds. The wave of railroad mergers which started more than a decade ago and which is still underway makes this clear; only merged railroads are financially strong enough to withstand the competition of the truckers and other rivals. The discontinuance of passenger service also points in the same direction. The retreat from the passenger business represents a

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confession that the railroads cannot effectively compete for passengers under circumstances as they now exist. But both the mergers and the reductions in service are erratic moves decided upon solely on the basis of the financial circumstances of particular railroad companies. The interests of bondholders and stockholders get more attention than the public interest. Although the Interstate Commerce Commission has to approve specific mergers and cutbacks in service, there is at present no way for the government to relate these moves to the rest of the transportation industry or to any coherent plan.

At the state level, government has been edging toward public ownership. Thus, the state of New York controls the Long Island Railroad and is now negotiating an agreement with Connecticut for joint ownership of the passenger service of the New Haven Railroad in the bi-state metropolitan area. Somewhat similar quasi-public arrangements for commuter railroad service exist in Boston and Philadelphia. At the federal level, however, there is reluctance to develop concerted transportation policies, much less adopt any course of action that smacks of Socialism. The result is that odd gaps and anomalies have begun to develop in the nation's transportation network. It is impossible, for example, to travel by train between two such sizable cities as Boston, Massachusetts and Portland, Maine; indeed, there is no passenger railroad service at all in the state of Maine. There are already a half-dozen state capitals in this country which cannot be reached by train. Northeast, the airline that serves New England, is not profitable; the effort to make it so by cutting it in on the New York-to-Miami run already shared by two other airlines failed to generate enough additional revenues. Other airlines serving regional markets are healthier than Northeast but some are still economically marginal.

What would a "systems analysis" recommend in place of this jerry-built corporate structure in transportation? The densely populated corridor from Boston to Washington, D.C. provides an example. The hourly shuttle service by jet makes no sense for safety reasons; the air space has become so crowded in this corridor that pilots have to take evasive action on almost every trip to avoid mid-air collisions. Travel by bus and private automobile does not make sense either for reasons of time and efficiency. Buses, even though breaking speed limits, still take more than three hours to drive from New York to Washington; private automobiles take about an hour longer. The logical way—safe, fast, and efficient—would be to travel from Boston to New York or New York to Washington by train. It is now technologically possible to make either of these trips by train in less than two hours. Jet service should be reserved for long trips of 500 miles or more where the greater distance makes the use of jets reasonable and economic. Automobiles should be reserved for pleasure trips to the mountains and other relatively inaccessible places and for travel in and around towns and metropolitan suburbs where space on roads and in parking lots is still available; they ought not to be used for travel between major cities or into the congested centers of those cities. A rational allocation of patronage along these lines would eliminate any need for the fourth airport now being urged for metropolitan New York (in addition to Kennedy, LaGuardia and Newark), or for the four extra lanes now being planned for the New Jersey Turnpike, or for the monstrous, ten-mile bridge across Long Island Sound from Long Island to Connecticut being urged by superbuilder Robert Moses. It would also sharply reduce the fatalities from automobile accidents (nearly 50,000 persons were killed last year) and would make air travel safer by thinning out the traffic in the air lanes.

Similar reallocations would have beneficial effects if applied to freight. Trucks are ideal for lightweight cargo such as transistors and electronic parts and for transport between local points, but the trucking of heavy freight and over long distances is socially wasteful; such freight belongs on the railroads. Few motorists or taxpayers realize that highways would be considerably cheaper to build and would last much longer without major repairs if they were only used by automobiles; it is the heavy trucks pounding them day and night with the burden of tons of freight that wear out the nation's highways.

The need also exists for many more mergers in both the railroad and airline industries with the stronger, money-making carriers eliminating wasteful competition with one another on profitable routes and absorbing the weaker, money-losing carriers. Transportation is a public utility just as are water, electricity, and telephone service; fast, efficient, safe, and dependable transportation for passengers and for freight ought to be available in all sections of the country whether they are rich or poor, densely populated or thinly populated, profitable or unprofitable.

Any effort to rationalize the nation's transportation network will jeopardize the existing congeries of private interests. President Johnson's proposal for a cabinet Department of Transportation is only a modest, first step toward rationalization, but it is sure to be resisted for that very reason. WILLIAM V. SHANNON

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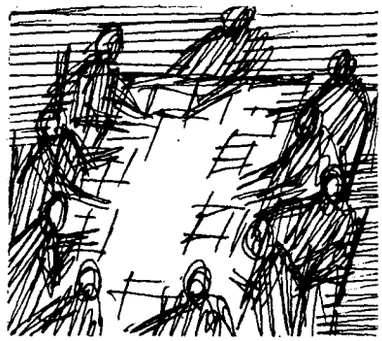

COLD WAR MYTHS

The futility of attempts to live in the past

RONALD STEEL

Empires crumble, great leaders rise and fall, but political dogmas carry on, burdening each new generation with the obsessions of the last. The cold war is no exception. With its own set of dogmas evolved in the late 1940s, it has proved remarkably resilient to everything that has happened ever since. The world power structure has gone through an extraordinary upheaval during the past decade, but the popular mythology of the cold war remains solidly in place. Despite recent exercises in myth-raking by Senators, journalists and academicians, most of them are still unbowed, though perhaps a bit worse for wear. Our cold-war slogans are comfortable, and like old sweaters, we hate to get rid of them even though they may be full of holes.

Some, of course, like that old standby, the "Sino-Soviet bloc," have had to be regretfully abandoned now that Peiping and Moscow are making a public spectacle over their inheritance claims to the New Jerusalem. Others, like the "international Communist conspiracy," although hopelessly outdated, linger on as handy explanations for otherwise depressingly complicated problems. As such they are extremely useful for Republican conventions, Birchite handouts and Congressional joint resolutions. They are not, however, normally taken seriously at the highest levels of government. There a more sophisticated set of myths remains supreme. As we have learned most recently from the inspirational explanations of our involvement in Vietnam, it is an American responsibility to intervene in the universal struggle between "freedom and Communism," on whatever dubious or unfavorable terrain it may take place.

This dogma has a stirring ring, and in touching the proper spirit of moral fervor, it sets all the patriotic glands going. But it also conceals more than it explains about the nature of some of our involvements. It tells us nothing about the new ground of common interest between Russia and America, about the mounting spirit of independence in the satellites and the desire of Europeans on both sides of the Iron Curtain to shake themselves loose from their opposing protectors, about the tidal wave of anti-colonialism which is sweeping the Western powers—America included—from their bridgeheads in Africa and Asia, about the convulsions going on within the Communist movement itself as nationalism takes precedence over the demands of Marxist ideology, and about the fact that the "Communism" espoused in Belgrade and Hanoi may be just as hostile to Russian or Chinese imperialism as it is to Western intervention.

The conventional cold-war labels conceal all this because they are rooted in a view of the world which has not changed to any real degree since 1948 when the Red army seemed ready to march to the Channel and swoop a defenseless western Europe into its paw. From this assumption, which seemed perfectly valid at the time, but which no one any longer considers likely, sprang the NATO alliance, the rearming of Germany, the semi-permanent garrison of 400,000 American

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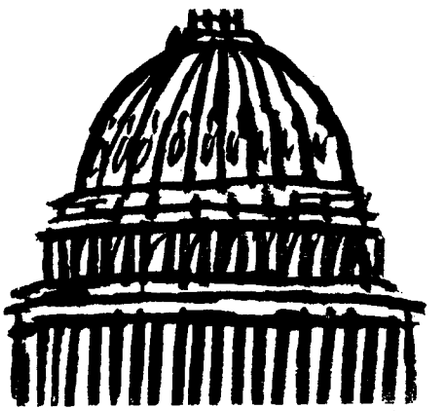
soldiers on the continent, and periodic visions of an "Atlantic community" knitting Europe and America together in atomic wedlock around the MLF. The belief that it is America's destiny to remain forever as the nursemaid of western Europe has struck such deep roots on both sides of the Atlantic that, as that astute observer of our national folklore, D. W. Brogan, has commented, "anyone who resists or even complains is, if not an actual traitor to Western civilization, at least a howling cad."



But even those emotionally chained to the idea of a little Europe divided at the Elbe and nestling obediently under America's wing, are having a hard time reconciling this with the realities of a world which has changed profoundly since the Czech *coup* and the Korean war. With Europe no longer on her knees, with Russia no longer so menacing, and America no longer invulnerable, the conditions which originally inspired the alliance have disappeared. In their place are ambiguous and shifting relations between three changing powers, America, Europe and Russia. Now that the two superpowers have become increasingly engaged by their dialogue with one another and their preoccupation with a revived China, the Europeans are gradually moving toward a common approach to their own political problems that will of necessity involve a common defense no longer under American direction.

As one of the last monuments to the problems, and the rhetoric, of the late Forties, NATO has been made largely irrelevant by its own success and the changing power structure in Europe. Today the whole focus of American interests is switching away from Europe, where the job of containing Russia has been largely achieved and can be taken over by Europeans themselves, to an unstable Asia and a revolution-prone "third world." There the sudden transition from colonialism to independence has been accompanied by virulent nationalism and civil disorders into which the great powers are drawn, or even fling themselves, for fear of losing influence to their rivals.

Consumed by our own quarrels with Russia, we could only see these disorders as part of the universal struggle between "freedom and Communism." And because that struggle had begun in Europe where the problem was one of defending weakened nations from a powerful Red army breathing down their necks, we let ourselves assume that the same situation applied everywhere else—ignoring that other nations might have reasons of their own for welcoming our military equipment. A military numbers game quite out of touch with the realities of geography and politics, the pactomania of the Fifties rested on an obsession with aggression in areas where it was often unlikely and frequently impossible. Trying to reproduce NATO in contexts where virtually none of its elements applied, we somehow never let it sink in that Peru was not really in danger of a Russian invasion, that the only enemies Pakistanis and Indians worried about were one another, or that the states of Indochina were not so much threatened by a Chinese invasion as by the conflict of the great powers that have divided them into rival spheres of influence.

Dulles' pacts, for the most part, have been forgotten by all but that handful of diplomats and generals whose job it is to attend their yearly conferences in such agreeable places as Teheran and Rio. But the dogma that inspired them lives on untouched by the upheavals that have taken place since they were evolved some fifteen years ago. The idea that all Communist governments are alike, all of them organized conspiracies equally hostile to American interests, is slowly being scuttled in Europe, but is not even challenged in Asia. There, by treating such Communist nationalists as Ho Chi Minh as agents of Peiping, we have managed to reinforce the very Chinese influence in Vietnam we have been trying to combat. And by intervening with our military power in a civil war among Vietnamese, we have polarized the extremes, handed the Communists the banner of nationalism, and made it seem as though we had imperial designs of our own.

The obsession with external aggression which burdened us so long in Europe has now changed its roost to Asia. The analysis is the same; only the object is different. Now that the Russians have begun to mellow, and are joining forces with the West to slam the door on the nuclear club and keep an unruly *tiers monde* in line, the specter of Cossacks sweeping to the Channel is being replaced by the vision of Mao Tse-tung picking up all the states of Asia from the Bay of Bengal to the Sea of Japan like falling dominoes. While this, to be sure, is an awful prospect, it is not a very likely one, since China has neither the means nor the freedom of action to impose its will on all of Asia. If the Chinese

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should embark upon a policy of direct aggression against their neighbors, this can be met by a judicious application of American air and sea power—perhaps joined by Russia, which has even more reason to contain China than we do, and other interested nations as well. But fomenting revolutions in unstable countries, however irritating and unfriendly, is not the same as direct aggression. And while the creation of stable, non-Communist governments on the Asian mainland is an eminently desirable goal, it is not one which can be achieved by American military power.

Lingering Dogma

The futile attempt to do so in Vietnam is simply the most dramatic example of how the old dogma has lived on to haunt our rhetoric and defeat our diplomacy. Although the postwar world dominated by those twin symbols of intransigence, Dulles and Stalin, has largely been eroded, the facade remains intact in the vocabulary of the outworn doctrines. Largely inappropriate to the political realities of the world of the Sixties, the dogmas remain untouched because they alone explain a good many of our current involvements. Doubly mischievous, they not only inspire interventions of questionable wisdom, but provide the justifications for them once undertaken. "The dogma is," as Richard Rovere has pointed out, "the basis for popular Congressional assent" to most of current American policy, since "almost everything that we do in the mid-Sixties . . . must somehow be justified with the rhetoric of the late Forties."

It is not only the public, but the policy-maker as well who suffers from this cultural lag, for those whose job it is to deal in realities have in fact become prisoners of their own rhetoric. So used to explaining every American involvement anywhere in the world—whether it be furnishing Cuban exile pilots to Tshombe or sending a gymnastics instructor to Guatemala—as part of the struggle between "freedom and Communism," they end up believing themselves the cold-war pablum which they feed the public. The mythmaker becomes a mythmonger, as chained to his myth as Elvis Presley to his guitar. Even if he wanted to, he could not scuttle the old dogma without seeming to betray the very principles which he has been proclaiming to Congress and the voters with such tiresome and predictable ardor.

The mythmonger's excuse for chanting the old dogma, insofar as he himself is aware of its irrelevancy, is that the public is too unsophisticated to understand the nuances of foreign policy. But this, too, may be an "old myth" that has dragged on indecently long and should be given an early burial. The public is not as stupid as its leaders imagine, and in a good many instances—such as its favorable reception to Senator Fulbright's minor heresies, and even the more fundamental criticisms of our Asian policy made more recently by Senators Church, Morse, Gruening, Mansfield and McGovern—may be ahead of official wisdom in its freedom from cant and self-justification. The voters are rarely as chained to any particular line of policy as are the professionals whose job and whose self-respect are attached to those policies, and they are often willing to consider a good many of the "unthinkable thoughts" still whispered furtively in the corridors of the State Department.

Perhaps we are barking up the wrong tree in blaming the public for hanging onto the old myths. In truth it seems to be the policy-maker, not the voter, who sees his assumptions as the epitome of political wisdom. To get him to contemplate the possibility that some of these may be outdated, or actually harmful, is to challenge much that he holds dear. "The really dangerous myths," as Irving Kristol commented aptly, "are not to be found among the unenlightened populace; they are lodged in the uppermost echelons of the government." Prying them loose from that citadel is a task of heroic proportions. It is also one of urgent necessity, for with all the talk of "new realities," the old and cherished myths hang on with dogged persistence. Obscuring the real world in a fog of tiresome rhetoric, they hobble the mythmonger even more than a dogma-weary public, and paralyze the vitally-needed reassessment of a foreign policy grown desperate and irrelevant.

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BERNICE AMES

ARTICHOKE

You must have stalked the sun
snarling, growling fiercely
and raced through pastures of dawn
before your padded feet
plunged too deep
into the rich and hungry earth.

I hope you hugged to your heart
the freedom you chased,
the distance you gathered,
as you sank in the mire
of rain and wind
with only the grey-green toss of mane
to flag your proud attempt.

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NEGROES AND VIETNAM

HOWARD ZINN

The young SNCC field worker said, "You know, I saw one of those Vietcong guerrillas on TV the other day. He was ragged, angry, dark-skinned, and poor. I swear, he looked just like one of us." The interesting thing is that this same young man has seen on television Negro soldiers, in American uniform, fighting against the Vietcong. Yet, he identifies his own situation with that of "the enemy."

The same hostility toward the U.S. Vietnam policy is rampant among jail-hardened Negro veterans of SNCC, rank and file of both races in CORE, white college students spending summers in the Deep South, and the youthful Negroes who hold important posts in Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. It is a raw and simple feeling, drawing a line straight from southern Vietnam to the southern part of the United States.

Even the conservative Urban League and the cautious NAACP, at their national meetings last summer, acknowledged the irritating presence of the Vietnam issue by publicly laying the question aside. And at CORE's New Orleans convention, a personal appeal by James Farmer was needed to get the members to withdraw their resolution condemning American policy. The issue is not whether that policy is right or wrong, but whether civil rights groups should make their criticisms public. As for SNCC, a hundred or so staff members did just that at an Atlanta meeting over the Thanksgiving weekend, unanimously adopting a sharp, scolding statement that also questioned the government's devotion to freedom in view of its hesitant actions in the South and its failure to act against the racist government of South Africa. It was because of his public support of SNCC's position that Julian Bond, a young Negro poet and civil rights activist elected to the Georgia legislature, was recently denied his seat as a law-maker.

Militant civil rights workers do not have anything like the "teach-ins" to make their views known. But, for one who has been close to "the Movement," civil rights in America and the war in Vietnam are strikingly analogous in certain areas. Some of the critics see this, and no doubt it has had an impact on others, consciously or unconsciously.

One thing should be emphasized: ideology is not significant in the Movement. The antagonism to American policy emanates, rather, from the cotton fields, the country roads, the jails of the Deep South. As one of the young men said recently, "Our criticism of Vietnam policy does not come from what we know of Vietnam, but from what we know of America." The first ingredient of this knowledge is distrust of the government in Washington, despite the civil rights acts and Johnson's Howard University speech in which he proclaimed "We shall overcome!" They also know about the beatings, the deaths and the headlines that were needed to make the government act. Out of this has come, not a personal charge against Johnson, but a long-term view of American national power as streaked with a cold opportunism, from the belated and weak Emancipation Proclamation until today.

However, to carry the issue directly into Vietnam: there are certain slogans which civil rights workers have learned to distrust. One of them is the cry of "outside agitator." To Negroes constantly belabored by this charge in the South (even King, going from Atlanta to Albany, Georgia, was denounced as an "outsider"), there is something reminiscent in the official American claim that the Vietcong movement is supported, or instigated, or encouraged, by "outside forces."

It does no good to point out that this is not fiction, that in Vietnam there are, indeed, "outside" forces, that North Vietnamese troops are fighting in the South, and that China and Russia supply arms. For it is also a fact that much of the leadership and support for the Negro upsurge in the South came from "outside"—from college students, from SNCC and SCLC staff people embedding themselves in a community—and that money and equipment have come from the North. What the Movement understands is that the presence of outside help cannot obliterate a more fundamental truth, that the insurgent energy was indigenous, and was supplied by deep local grievances in the Southern states, and this appears to be true also in South Vietnam.

HOWARD ZINN, *author of* SNCC: The New Abolitionists (*Beacon Press*), *teaches in the Department of Government at Boston University.*

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To pursue the analogy further: the "domino theory" used in discussions of Southeast Asia bears a crude resemblance to an argument continually expressed by diehard segregationists. That is, that if you allow your white daughter to attend the same school as a Negro boy, they will probably marry one another.

Parallel Arguments

Of course, there are many differences between the two "domino" theories, but both versions have one feature in common, that the argument, whether enunciated by ignorant segregationists or sophisticated supporters of Administration policy, rushes from the first domino to the last without scrupulous examination of the steps in-between. Likewise, civil rights workers may be in a better position to notice that the U.S. government, and many Americans, seem to have drawn a curtain around themselves to keep out the barrage of criticism of our Vietnam policy from abroad. So too have Alabamans and Mississippians for many years tuned out national indignation, listening only to each other, reaffirming their belief that they are right and everyone else in the world is wrong.

The use of symbolic epithets to arouse emotions and prevent rational consideration of complex problems of human relations also has striking parallels in the American South and South Vietnam. In the South, there is the individual-destroying word "nigger" that enables the white man to develop an undifferentiated, constant reaction—of hatred and contempt—toward anyone so designated, whatever his unique qualities of character. In American foreign policy the key epithet is "Communism," which may *begin* to describe a situation in the way the term "nigger" *begins* to describe a person, but it hardly gets to the distinctions that are so crucial in a world where "Communism" has many faces and many forms.

At the grass-roots level, a common reaction of young militant Negroes to Vietnam was expressed by a group in McComb, Mississippi, on learning a friend had been killed in Vietnam. The leaflet they issued said:

"No one has the right to ask us to risk our lives and kill other Colored People in Santo Domingo and Vietnam, so that the white American can get richer . . . we don't know anything about Communism, Socialism, and all that, but we do know that Negroes have caught hell under this American Democracy."

That the Negro should have mixed feelings about the United States is not strange. He seeks the comfort of the flag, and often asserts, through a hyper-patriotism, that he is part of the nation. This is reinforced by the practical fact that the armed forces may offer his only chance for economic security. And yet, there is a deep resentment that goes along with this. What is pertinent here is that both, the patriotism and the resentment, coexist, often in the same person, with each attiude lying only an inch beneath the surface and subject to call, depending on circumstances.

There is one other powerful connection between the Movement and Vietnam. That is the idea of non-violence, which has far more popular appeal among Negroes than is imagined. It is true some militants secretly snicker, and Negro farmers in Mississippi keep guns in their closets. But the theme of non-violence has been sounded in virtually every Negro church in the South in the past few years. Martin Luther King has been its great spokesman, and non-violence was the cardinal principle in the founding of SNCC.

The application of non-violence to international affairs is more and more often expressed these days by King himself, and his winning of the Nobel Peace Prize has served to dramatize the connection. In a world and in a nation so long conditioned to the use of war as an instrument of politics, the Movement people have declared with their bodies as well as in words: *whatever* the evil to be contested, violence is wrong.

The opposition of militant civil rights workers to the Vietnam war may be blunt, and unaccompanied by political analysis. But it draws on the most profound inner experience this nation has had in recent times. It sees parallels which may be overly simple, but they also offer deep insight.

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HENRY DALTON

FEBRUARY SPELL

Lightfooted and breathing a little too lightly,
we walked the creek road as if honeysuckle
were twelve weeks early!

As if night were filled with northbound starlings,
we walked the far road that perverse warm spell
that holds all springs.

Lightfooted O light we hit the bridge.
We listened for frogs among the bare willows,
the clumps of dry sedge

and shuddered: not knowing the February spell
that offers honeysuckle hides
the sting as well.

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The debate continues

"THE NEW MORALITY"

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: Too often "The New Morality" is discussed in terms of antinomianism vs. legalism. The Fletcher-McCabe debate has advanced the argument at least by agreeing that the problem centers on an intrinsic (e.g., Thomistic) or extrinsic (e.g., nominalistic) concept of morality.

Personally, I opt for an intrinsic morality—goodness is connected with being. Sacred Scripture seems to connect the "is" and the "ought" of Christian existence. Christian morality is the living out of the new life we have received, the existence that flows from our baptismal rebirth in Christ, the fruit of the Spirit Who dwells within us and transforms our being. The New Testament frequently reminds the Christian to act in such a way precisely because he is a Christian. Modern theology with its stress on the incarnational character of Christian life reminds us that God takes human actions seriously. The world does not exist merely as a stage full of props to serve as a background for the drama of human existence. All of creation belongs to the reign of God in Christ, and Christians are called to build the new heaven and the new earth through technology, science, art, culture, etc. Our daily human experience also reminds us that some actions are good or bad in themselves independent of the situation or the intention of the person. We frequently say that a big heart does not excuse the stupidity of a man's actions.

However, "Catholic natural law theory" must face up to certain problems. In general, natural law thinking considers the structure and finality of a particular being. Whatever tends to fulfill the innate dynamism of the being is in keeping with its nature and consequently good. But does natural law theory truly reflect reality? In some respects, natural law theory is like Mother Hubbard's cupboard—everything in its place and a place for everything. However, what about the disrupting influence of sin in the world? Current theology stresses the sin of the world which incarnates itself in the structures of human society. Sin, suffering, and pain add a shattering discord into the harmony and rhythm of an overly rationalistic ordering of the world. Some philosophers might want to dismiss evil and sin as non-being, but theology and human experience testify to the existence of sin in our daily life. Philosophers, too, must admit that sin has introduced the absurd and the unintelligible into our world.

Where sin and evil are most prevalent, natural law considerations do not seem to come to grips with the reality of the objective situation. The problems posed by moral decision making in truly sin-full situations gave a great impetus to the rise of the new morality. Experience in the underground, in concentration camps, in resistance movements, and in war made some Christians think that at times theft, lying, adultery, abortion, and even killing become good actions and humanly necessary in certain situations.

How has Catholic moral thinking tried to come to grips with the problem of evil and sin? Consider the example mentioned by both discussants of the East Harlem woman who was so proud of the son she bore in an adulterous union. Professor Fletcher claims she was right even though he does not condone the social conditions that prevented the woman from finding human love in a better way. Father McCabe admits that the woman may be a saint, but her action is wrong; and society bears the blame for such an action. In the categories of moral theology the woman performed an action which is objectively wrong but subjectively not sinful. Some Catholic moralists would say that under certain circumstances even a confessor could counsel the lesser of two evils in a given situation. But the categories of "objectively wrong but subjectively not sinful" and "counseling the lesser of two evils" do not appear to go far enough.

Moral theologians are beginning to speak of compromise in our human actions. In the face of the sinful situation man must do the best he can. The shattering and destructive force of sin prevents him from doing the good that he would do under more ordinary circumstances. In corresponding to the reality of the present situation as best he can, man is doing something which is good. Take for example the laborer who must "kick in" so much a day to make sure he is hired. Or the business man who is forced to make payoffs and kickbacks to stay in business. In the objective situation here and now the person realizes he must do such actions. However, the reality of the situation also demands that the mature Christian strive, especially in solidarity with other men of good will, to overcome the existing sin-full

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structures. As in any compromise, the person cannot be perfectly at ease in settling for something less and thereby contributing in some way to the power of sin and evil in the world. However, if the person's actions correspond as best as possible to the reality of the total situation, such actions are good. Here lies the responsibility and the risk involved in Christian decision-making. Is the existing sinful structure such that I need to compromise or am I deceiving myself and taking the easy way out? Even though I will add to the force of sin in the world must I still act in such a way? Perhaps in the past, Catholic theologians have been afraid of the consequences that might come from any leak in the dike; but a realistic morality must come to grips with the ambiguity presented by the existence of sin in the world. Heretofore, moral theology has been unrealistic in facing the reality of a Christian world infected by sin.

Perhaps natural law theorists also distort being and reality by not stressing enough the relational and personal aspect of being. An individual does not exist alone in isolated splendor, but human beings are what they are in many ways because of their relationships with other beings. All beings are related to other particular beings and ultimately to the fullness of being. Catholic thinking has already embraced relations, for the Persons of the Trinity are described as subsistent relations. But has natural law thinking tended to absolutize particular beings? Likewise, natural law theorists appear to overextol nature at the expense of person. I will limit my comments on the relational and personal aspects of being, since I have summarized elsewhere (cf., Proceedings of the 1965 North American Liturgical Week) some of the objections currently being proposed.

Natural law theory claims to be an intrinsic concept of morality. I believe that morality must be related to being, but I wonder if "Catholic natural law theory" has adequately come to grips with the reality of sin in the world as well as with the personal and relational aspect of being.

(REV.) CHARLES E. CURRAN
Catholic University of America

"The Shouting of Slogans"

New Haven, Conn.

To the Editors: I hope "situation ethics" is not fated to succeed "the death of God" as the journalistic interest in the Christian faith. To become involved in the shouting of slogans is distasteful to me, and I believe that more dispassionate analytic work, with constructive proposals is the best answer to debates.

Since *Time* has mistakenly and unfortunately identified my own work with that of Professors Fletcher and Lehmann without any qualifications whatsoever, the Fletcher-McCabe discussion provides me an opportunity to make comments on Fletcher.

First, it is dubious for one author to make a class or a point of view out of his own position, and state that "situation ethics says . . ." or "the situationist . . ." It lends no authority to what is said, is logically a mistake, and implicates others in a position which they may not hold.

Second, and more substantial, is the problem of what constitutes a "situation." For all his denial that situational ethics is not the same as existentialist ethics, I fail to be persuaded by what Fletcher says. The "situation" in which one discusses sexual relations (Oh, why does this issue become the one around which not only theory, but practice is discussed, even after Fletcher makes the point that "immorality" means more than fornication) is not just a boy and a girl under a tree, pawing each other into a sense of belonging and "love." It is much much more inclusive than that: What kind of responsibilities for each other are part of a human relationship of which one part is sexuality? What obligations to fidelity, to caring for one another, etc., are the performative consequences of an interpersonal relation? What happens to the fabric of family life, or the ethos of marriage when the exceptional case becomes the point of attention, and thus apparently the rule?

Or, in "the interruption of pregnancy," which I take it refers to abortion, in what size "context" is this to be seen? The phrase is most curious, because usually when something is interrupted it can continue where it left off at the moment of interruption, but the act of abortion is irrevocable and final. Does one consider in a case like this the rights of the potential person, the fetus? Or does one look at this week's situation of embarrassment or inconvenience with a view to relieving that? Fletcher wishes to distinguish his ethics from a blatant hedonism, but from what I can judge in the article, what wills out in the end is an egocentric self-expressionism, or an unsophisticated self-realizationism.

"*The* governing consideration" is the situation. There is a grave oversimplification in this assertion. It fails to maintain the kind of pluralism of considerations that is essential in any moral judgment, whether in the range of Christian ethics, or ethics under any other auspices. For one thing, as McCabe suggests, there is an oversimplification of the fact-value problem. How would one apply Fletcher's monism to Vietnam? To urban renewal?

I suspect in theory what is added to the governing of the situation is "love." Now love is a terribly complex word, used in many ways. Is he referring to a moral

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norm, some kind of rule? Is he referring to some impulse of the natural man, some human desire or affection? Is he referring to some totally redeemed human being whose thinking, willing, and desiring are not subject to perversion by sin? Further, is love the exclusive point of reference in Christian ethics? Is it the only inherent good? On what grounds has Fletcher or anyone else established that?

More could be said. I would finally suggest that the rubric "situation ethics" is used to refer to so many different writings, with so many different rationales for writing that way that it is useless as a basis of classification, not to mention authorization. I hope I might be forgiven if I suggest that some of COMMONWEAL's serious readers might look at an article I published in the *Harvard Theological Review* last April, "Context vs. Principles: A Misplaced Debate in Christian Ethics."

JAMES M. GUSTAFSON
Yale University

Situation Ethics, No

Lincoln, Ill.

To the Editors: Professor Joseph Fletcher in his rejoinder to Father Herbert McCabe quotes Father Louis Monden, S.J. The quotation from *Sin, Liberty and Law* is used to point out that "Catholic morality is, in fact, a situation ethics." However in all fairness to Father Monden I believe the readers of COMMONWEAL would like to read the context from which the quote was taken. After thirty pages of a wonderful chapter on "Legal Ethics or Situation Ethics?", Father Monden gives the following paragraph which led in to the quote used by Professor Fletcher:

"In the inner law of nature, in the inner demands of God's spirit, in the pronouncements and gestures of the Church, as guaranteed by God, he will unconditionally rediscover the imperative of his own conscience, for he knows that true love cannot contradict itself. Yet as the applications of the law of nature or of grace which he meets in his life become further removed from the very first principles, the influences of the concrete factors which make up his situation and the insight of the person living in that situation keep increasing. This is especially true when it must be decided whether some positive law obliges in a specific instance. *Within these limits—and although the term has acquired a bad reputation because of the abuses to which it has led*—we must clearly affirm with the great classical authors that Catholic morality is, in fact, a situation ethics."

In as much as all ethical behavior, and non-ethical behavior for that matter, takes place within the framework of some concrete situation we can tab it "situational." However, words do have meaning, and truth is not served by simply forcing that meaning to fit my individual needs. My suggestion would be to seek out Father Louis Monden, S.J., to prevail upon him to write for "The New Morality" dialogue. I truly believe a digest of his chapter on "Legal Ethics or Situation Ethics" would do much to shed light on a needed discussion.

(REV.) ARNOLD KLAUER

Situation Ethics, Yes

Dallas, Texas

To the Editors: I think Father McCabe has unwittingly illustrated how deeply committed is Catholic thought to situation ethics. And I think he has put his finger on the crux of the matter when he says, in vindicating the "validity of absolutes," that: "'absolute' moral demands are just the demands of the total human situation as far as we can see them." The key words, of course, are "as far as we can see them" for the implication is that the "seeing" itself, is a limited condition, subject to improvement—whether by new insights or divine revelation (which is perhaps the same thing).

Father McCabe gives a curious example of what in his opinion is a piece of behavior that is unconditionally wrong, namely "to kill a baby by roasting it alive." What he seems to say is that it is not the killing, but the manner of killing, that is wrong—which is clearly situationist. Does he intend to imply that some other form of killing, say by strangulation or drowning, is not always wrong, or is perhaps less wrong? Father McCabe enlarges on his example by introducing another situation factor, namely, the use of nuclear weapons. Once more, does he mean to suggest that nuclear weapons are more wrong than bullets or bayonets, or perhaps that the murder of 100,000 people is a greater evil than the murder of 100 people? If so, this is surely another evidence of his situationist thinking.

In his rejoinder to Professor Fletcher, Father McCabe rejects the reference to the biblical Judith to defend the use of female sex involvement in modern counter-espionage. So do I, but only for the reason that even from the situationist point of view the example of Judith's behavior is not strictly parallel with modern espionage. In the case of Judith, we are dealing with a state which has a divinely imposed mission, whose position in history both as theocracy and the depository of messianic revelation is quite unique. Moreover, when Father McCabe decries the behavior of the unmarried woman in East Harlem, he is simply taking issue with the viewpoint of one situationist, not with the situation-

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ist approach itself. Here again, a situationist can examine this case and declare that the woman is wrong, applying the same standard that Prof. Fletcher proposes: "due regard to the greatest amount of love for the greatest number of neighbors possible." Otherwise one would have to approve, "in the abstract," the behavior which creates "so many disadvantaged" fatherless families, even though one might claim to disapprove the absence of husbands. Furthermore, in this instance, the married man is being used as a means of begetting a son, who in turn is loved because he is the much-desired possession that has been finally obtained. Here again, the woman is behaving counter to Prof. Fletcher's thesis that "people are to be loved and things are to be used."

When Father McCabe admits to the "desperate need of a new moral theology" by the Church, he should not sell short the "new morality." As Professor Fletcher points out, it is in fact not a very new morality at all. In practice, the Church is constantly employing the situationist approach to its view of moral issues, even while exercising a taboo over certain thorny issues like the now prominent one of birth control.

It seems likely that a searching reappraisal of moral theology by the Church could bring a fresh and uniquely Catholic dimension to the "new morality," one which would elevate situation ethics, in its total application, to a respectable place in Catholic thinking.

HELEN SMART

NOTES ON ALBEE

THE STAGE

Rumor has it that Edward Albee is working on two new plays, one of which is due to appear in the fall. A more depressing news item would be hard to concoct, even in fun. Not that there is anything wrong with fast writing as such—writers have to go at their own pace. But the thought of this eager playwright rushing from the well with yet another bucket is more than can be easily borne.

Mr. Albee seems to be approaching the treacherous point in a writer's career where he thinks he can get away with just about anything. Presumably he has no trouble getting backing for his plays; and since he has convinced himself that the critics are across-the-board clods, there is no brake to his careening plans.

His remarks about critics are particularly revealing because they echo a delusion common to famous writers who have slipped into second-rate habits. He seems to feel that the critics come between him and the real people out there (Tolstoy's clear-eyed peasants)—a version of the Rousseau-like notion that Your Natural Man is the best judge, if you just leave him alone. This myth is dear to minority publicists of all kinds but writers mess with it at their peril. The truth is that if critics are over-conditioned prigs and dilettantes, the public is generally a worse one. Albee reports ingenuously that before the reviews came out, audiences reacted just beautifully to "Tiny Alice"—but of course they did. At that point it was "the new Albee play, my dear." No one could yet counter with "But have you read the Brustein review, old boy?"

There is a hierarchy to all this truckling, from author to daily-reviewer to hot weekly reviewer, etc., and Your Natural Man is a delicate network of snobberies. For obvious reasons, famous writers prefer author-snobbery to critic-snobbery, but they shouldn't delude themselves about their relative values. The only thing that distinguishes the critic from the rest of the public is a little more experience and perhaps occasionally a little more courage. This modest equipment will not protect him from outrageous mistakes, but the author must check these against his own knowledge and craft, not against the silly-putty response of the preview-folk. The theater public as constituted probably has less power of spontaneous independent judgment than any group since the gang at the Emperor Nero's violin recitals. If you don't like the critics, fine, but don't appeal from them to this mob of front-runners and fashion-nuts. When Albee is "out" just hear what they will have to say at the previews. (If this happens, it might even take a critic to swing them round again.)

Another bad sign at this juncture in a writer's career is the proliferation of interviews. When Mr. Albee isn't churning out plays he seems to be churning out exclusive opinions into any tape-recorder that will listen. It is unfair to suppose that he has reached that summit of megalomania where the writer suddenly becomes a sage or holy man whose opinions merit a clap of thunder; in all likelihood he is just an obliging fellow who likes to talk. If his boyhood was as lonely as he lets on, so much public attention must be quite a pleasure.

But this attention, he must surely understand, is finally as cold and brutal as the women in his plays. The real name of "Tiny Alice" in this country has always been success: the bitch that devours writers and others is the only goddess we have a name for. These Albee interviews, little bits of nonsense about his living quarters, his tastes, what he is trying to say, all combine to demean their subject slightly. Each tears off another bit

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of skin. At first the interviews are featured in the Christmas issue, then they make filler in a summer issue, finally the subject can't give one away. Albee will probably never reach this last infirmity of interview-addiction, where the magazines that have given you the habit conspire to cut you off cold: but it could still happen that the only authentic Albee tragedy will begin, "Tell me, sir, what do you think about. . . ."

None of this would matter much, though, if the work remained up to snuff. A writer can play the fool in his own way so long as he hands over the jewels from time to time. But Albee's new play "Malcolm" looks as if it has received rather less care than his latest rumblings in *Playbill*. Granting the writer his *donnée* as James recommends (and I must say, it is getting hard to keep patient with Mr. Albee's *donnée*) there is not a single really effective scene in the play, even on its own terms. The basic situation—the young innocent being introduced by a corrupt intermediary to the devouring female—is repeated in several keys, but each time as a private joke which we are expected to share automatically. The writer hasn't troubled to set us up for his obsessions. Perhaps we are expected to remember from last time.

Albee has said that the play concerns the death of innocence—a further example of how a playwright can cut his throat by interview. The only hope for plays like this is to leave them as confusing as possible: there is always a chance that we will guess something into them. But say something like the death of innocence and we might as well all go home.

In fact, innocence is killed, literally, in a way that cannot be described in this, the last of the family magazines; but it is not killed at all in the sense of the victim's learning anything. Malcolm, the hero, is a criminally stupid young man who gets kicked in the teeth repeatedly by "them"—the forces of sex and money. His innocence is laid on with a thickness that Little Nell might have gagged on; "they," on the other hand, are bad through and through. In short, it has to be an allegory—Malcolm is purity of heart, his missing father is God, childhood, etc., sex and money are themselves. There are no interesting mixtures; innocence never turns innocently nasty as it does in real life. And the writer hasn't even bothered to fuzz the whole thing up nicely as he did in "Tiny Alice."

A playwright as good as Albee should not put his name to such sloppy work. (And calling it an adaptation of James Purdy's novel doesn't help a bit.) If he won't accept anyone else's strictures, he had better become sterner with himself. So many writers have gotten stuck in this phase—keeping in the news with inferior work, and with ever-accelerating interviews. Albee should turn his native suspiciousness on his own career. Innocence is no excuse. When the guileless Malcolm dies in the play there isn't a wet eye in the place. People have worse things to worry about than a kid who doesn't know to come in from the rain. Call Malcolm a young American writer and his destroyers the various publicity-parasites and the play might offer a lesson at that. (*Closed at the Shubert*) WILFRID SHEED

HYMN TO THE DAY

THE SCREEN

Two of the quartet of recent imports on our screens have the lyrical bounce of cinematic poetry; and these two films come, interestingly enough, from Russia and Japan. Although "Meet Me in Moscow" isn't as far-out as "The Knack," this delightful Russian movie has the same joyful, free-wheeling spirit as the English comedy. It follows three young men and later a girl they meet up with as they tear around Moscow during the course of one day, and most of the incidents have a fresh, wacky quality—not only because the young people are lively and amusing but also because the backgrounds are off-beat, less familiar Moscow.

Volodya, a Siberian construction worker who hopes to be a writer, arrives in the morning at the airport, strikes up an acquaintance on the subway with Kolka, who digs tunnels, and they are joined by Kolka's friend, Sasha, whom Kolka helps get an army deferment so he can get married today. In a department store, struck with the good looks of the girl at the record counter, Volodya and Kolka invite her to Sasha's wedding. Some of the events are poignant as the foursome wander in and out of trouble, but they always end on the upbeat with the resilience of youth.

Outstanding in the good cast is Nikita Mikhalkov, who gives the extrovert Kolka a mischievous sense of humor that adds much to the film's fun. Anyone who enjoyed director Georgi Danelia's charming "A Summer To Remember" several years ago won't be surprised to find the same light poetic quality in his "Meet Me in Moscow." Perhaps the picture does do a little flag-waving during the course of its odyssey; even its only sad note, when we have to say goodbye at the end of the pleasant day, is lightened by Kolka's cheerful song about his search for romance.

Even more endearing and more deceptive because of

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its severe simplicity is the Japanese "Ohayo" (which means good morning). Made by Yasujiro Ozu, who died in 1963 and, although little known in this country, is considered one of the great directors in Japan, "Ohayo" covers the events of a few days in the lives of several families living in a modern, middle-class, Tokyo housing development. At first the film seems to be about nothing, and then suddenly you realize it's about everything—days without end, life today on Main Street. The men fret about money and eventual retirement. Their wives housekeep, fuss about little things, gossip somewhat maliciously although without meaning harm. Their little boys waste their energy getting out of homework, watching TV at the house of frowned-upon neighbors, and indulge in a game of breaking wind which gives them status. The film has practically no plot, but its characters are engrossing—from the likable schoolteacher who is too shy to declare his attachment, right down the line to the darling little schoolboy who's learning English and says "I love you," every time he goes out of the house.

Because of its strange combination of charm and austerity, "Ohayo" is hard to describe, but its poetic cinema is a delight to behold. Using extraordinarily beautiful color photography, director Ozu keeps his camera stationary and about three feet from the floor as if it were the eye of one of his characters kneeling on a tatami mat. The effect is startling and fascinating; and so is the teapot tempest started when the I-love-you boy and his brother go on a silence strike because their father won't buy a TV set. The rebelling kids think grown-ups talk too much polite small talk anyway. Who's to say who's right? But in any case, I say, "good morning," to this enchanting movie.

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Also on our docket are a couple of mystery thrillers for people who think it's fun to be fooled. From France has come "The Sleeping Car Murder," which is more sophisticated and better acted than most movies of this kind. In fact, I found it so sophisticated and complicated that I could hardly keep up with it, but I must say I was never bored. Costa Gavras, who wrote the screenplay, also directed; and he races through the events that follow the first murder with such breakneck speed and such a plethora of clues that I missed whatever clues there were that pointed to the real murderer. His cast held my attention, however, especially Yves Montand as the Paris inspector who is handling the case, Simone Signoret as an actress who is on the skids but is still interested in young men, Jean-Louis Trintignant as her current interest, Catherine Allegret (Miss Signoret's real life daughter who looks amazingly like her famous mother) as a young Parisienne, Jacques Perrin as a school runaway who is housed by Catherine, Charles Denner as the lover of the first murdered woman, and several other good actors as more suspects, police, and criminals. One trouble with the plot as far as I'm concerned is that there are so many murders that just by the process of elimination, the last person left alive must be the murderer.

"Ten Little Indians," which stems from Agatha Christie's popular murder mystery, *And Then There Were None*, and was filmed under that title some years ago by René Clair, has similar trouble when murder follows murder follows murder. Who's left to be the murderer? Since the Clair version was so good, I'm not sure why this movie was made again. Director George Pollock doesn't show a great deal of imagination in his telling of the story. However, no one can spoil this wonderful plot in which a group of people, all seemingly guilty of criminal deeds, are invited to a weekend house party in an inaccessible place and then are warned that they will be killed off one by one in the manner of the nursery rhyme. Since their host is unknown, they have to spend most of their time trying to save their own necks and figure out who is the murderer. "Indians" was filmed on location in Ireland. Outstanding in its ten-character international cast, that includes Hugh O'Brian and Shirley Eaton as the young couple, are Stanley Holloway, Leo Genn and Wilfred Hyde-White, who sparkles in the role played by Barry Fitzgerald last time. This version, filmed with an international cast, uses a Whodunit Break at the climax, and stops everything to give you one minute to figure out who dun it. Unless you read the book or saw the last version, you won't.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

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BOOKS

The historical imagination

The Paranoid Style in American Politics

RICHARD HOFSTADTER

Knopf, $5.95

RICHARD KOSTELANETZ

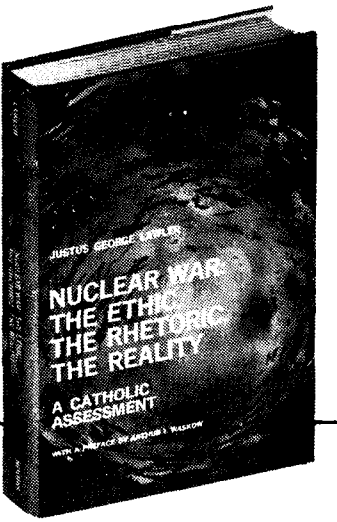
Traditionally, among the deficiencies of American culture has been the absence of a great historical mind the equal of, say, Voltaire, Ranke, Gibbon, Élie Halévy or even Paul Hazard—a historian of an originality and significance analogous to Whitman's, Melville's or Faulkner's. The reasons for this failure are several, none of them fully conclusive. One was surely the feeble state of scholarly endeavor in America, especially before 1920; another was the antirealistic mentality of our best writers (and before that, perhaps, the fluid indefinitiveness of American reality); a third was the pervasive celebration of American life and heroes that made any unsentimental study of personalities and events as unpopular as, for example, William Herndon's deflating biography of Abraham Lincoln.

However, since the end of World War II, this neglect has been rectified with an enthusiasm and thoroughness that has excessively compensated for prior deficiencies. Our past has been so ransacked and reransacked that many a European scholar has observed that Americans find incredible importance in the most trivial figures; and what is true for our historical past is also a just description of the excavation of our literary heritage. More significant, to my mind, than the growth of historical scholarship has been the imaginativeness of our best recent historians; for not only have they revised our conception of what constitutes the materials of history (to include, especially, popular culture) but they have also introduced new styles of historical writing and understanding. Among the most imaginative of these historians, as well as perhaps the most influential and productive, has been Richard Hofstadter.

His first major book, *The American Political Tradition* (1948), achieved the fulfillment of every young scholar's dream—a successful reinterpretation of his entire field. Whereas earlier liberal historians favored idealist figures, often portraying them as martyrs to their beliefs, or idealized lesser politicians and political activity, Hofstadter became an exponent of a skeptical neoliberalism that was profoundly aware of the differences between means and ends. His heroes were those political leaders who, regardless of prior beliefs, realized what actions were necessary for the time and then employed their best political skills to realize these ends; and Hofstadter concludes with a warm and just appreciation of Franklin D. Roosevelt as the master politician.

More innovating, however, was Hofstadter's approach to defining the American political tradition: he extracted the ideas of its leading activists (rather than the intellectuals); and by appropriating the technique of biographical method from literary criticism, he demonstrated, in unsentimental portraiture, how the character and experience of the man shaped his attitudes and works. (The method, indeed, is more applicable to politicians than literary men, whose ironic creations are *not* expressions of themselves.) Moreover, again reflecting the influence of art criticism, Hofstadter freezes, so to speak, a man's career into a timeless entity (like a work of art) and then dissects it with tools of depth analysis as a critic would a novel or painting.

Like so many of the most imaginative scholars of our time, Hofstadter has skillfully taken the analytical insights developed in another discipline and adapted them to his own use. His next major book, *The Age of Reform* (1956),



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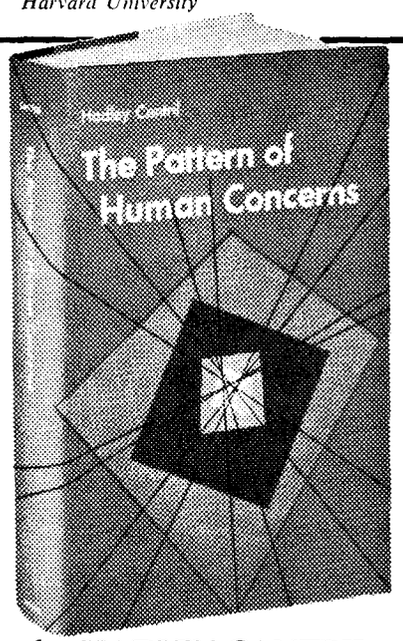

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This volume is one of a group of major works published in celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of Rutgers, The State University.

THE PATTERN OF HUMAN CONCERNS

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RUTGERS UNIVERSITY PRESS
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was conspicuously indebted to the sociologists' insight that in politics economic interest may be a lesser motivation than the desire for high place and great power in society. Instead of asking the political question of "Who gets what, when and how," the historian, as Hofstadter writes, should also ask, "Who perceives what public issues, in what way, and why." The book's most controversial and, eventually, most influential chapter argued that various kinds of social ambition shaped much of the ideology and polemical imagery of the progressive movement's supporters.

As the first major book was a celebration of rational politics—the judicious use of means to achieve desirable ends—Hofstadter in his more recent work has turned to irrational politics, anatomizing its styles and origins. One result was *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (1963), a broadly encompassing survey of how resentment and suspicion of intellectuals has taken sociological or political forms. With a shrewd sense of nuance, Hofstadter perceives that anti-intellectual spirit animates the left as well as the right; and he attains a distance that is rare in discussions of American intellectual life.

Another product of this preoccupation is *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*, a collection of seven essays written over the past thirteen years. These essays reveal the influence of revisionist studies of totalitarianism by Hannah Arendt, T. W. Adorno and Norman Cohn, for what Hofstadter decries is the varied forms of incipient totalitarianism in American life: people who believe that they are persecuted by some hidden conspiracy; the widespread tendency toward polarizing or eschatological concepts and slogans; the prophets of the single panacea; the plethora of "idealists" who would overthrow the present system to achieve either a millennium for us all or ultimate salvation for themselves. Particularly brilliant and relevant is the essay on Barry Goldwater and his supporters—as definitive an autopsy as any I know. However, *The Paranoid Style* is considerably slighter than the other works; for as a collection of essays, rather than a developed argument, it lacks the broad and original insights, as well as the impact, that the major books achieve.

In all, Hofstadter's work illustrates how well-written and imaginative historical scholarship can be, at the same time that it is impeccable in documentation and innocent of vulgarization. An intellectual before he is a researcher, Hofstadter transcends the conventional historian's satisfaction with amassing facts to see in facts the existence of a historical tendency previously undiscerned or a special insight into human behavior. His work also conveys a certain truth about our politics: America is paradoxically rife with fanatics wanting to destroy a system of pluralism and checks-and-balances that, though it may tilt, is finally both strong and diffuse enough to repulse an endless succession of threats.

Dominican Diary

TAD SZULC

Delacorte, $6

CHARLES HARBUTT

U.S. foreign policy, let us hope, reached its nadir last April when it sent Marines and paratroopers into the Dominican Republic, set up a puppet government and proceeded to protect that puppet from "revolutionaries" who wanted a return to the Dominican constitution. Tad Szulc, the New York *Times*' veteran Latin American correspondent, has not only documented the specific tragedies of that invasion, but has compiled the material for an indictment of U.S. foreign policy on two serious and seminal counts: Americans have never evolved a coherent expression in foreign policy of their democratic ideals and, even if they had, it is doubtful that it could be implemented with current Foreign Service attitudes and personnel.

"The United States did not have the courage to take a chance on democracy in my country," was Juan Bosch's bitter evaluation of the crisis. But Bosch

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erroneously assumed that Americans, either at home or abroad, still have a commitment to democracy as "the free marketplace of ideas." We passed out of that stage with the creation of the FBI, immigration quotas and Teddy Roosevelt's Big Stick. Our position as a world power was thrust upon us as a result of technical, economic and military prowess; our goals in world affairs are primarily conservative: to protect U.S. interests and property abroad and its sovereignty at home. If these aims are better served at any given moment by cooperating with or (as in the Dominican case) setting up a dictatorship, we shall do so. If it means using foreign aid to buy the loyalty of a ruling, exploiting class, we shall do so. This is what is known as pragmatism in Washington. We will buy or bully our allies but we cannot permit freedom of choice. Freedom is a threat; it introduces an unforgivable variable into the basically mechanistic and thus totalitarian thinking of the "expert."

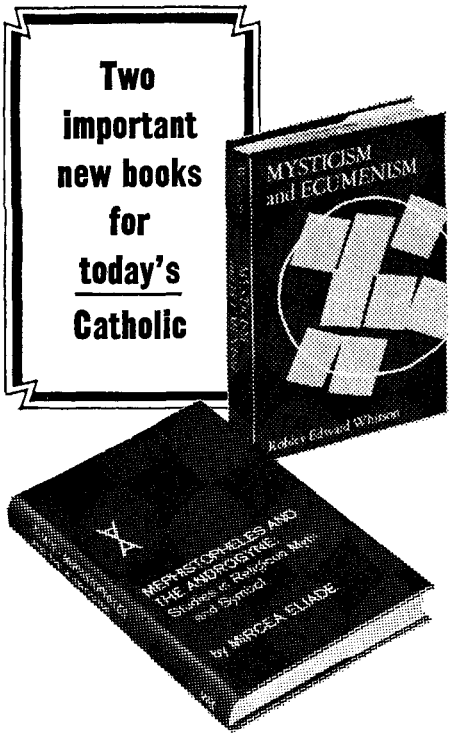
But whether our foreign role is to sow and nurture democracy in the world or just to preserve our own existence is immaterial. Szulc has exposed a recurrent Achilles' Heel in American foreign affairs by questioning the ability of the Foreign Service to perform its basic function – to provide and analyze information for the policymakers in Washington. This flaw arises out of the structure of the Foreign Service. As any American who has travelled abroad knows, the Service is more caste-ridden than a company town. Social cachet is very important; clothing, manners and contacts are keys to advancement. The bad habit of paying off political debts in ambassadorships has returned; career officers frequently are members of the upper-class establishment. In addition, the legacies of the McCarthy days make Foreign Service officers quite careful of their associations. And ultimately, this bourgeois bias of Americans whether in the State Department, the CIA or the press inevitably colors both the collection and especially the evaluation of raw intelligence data.

Szulc is particularly devastating along these lines in describing the actions of our Dominican ambassador, W. Tapley Bennett. Szulc quotes State Department sources describing Bennett as "ill at ease with people who were not well dressed" and unacquainted "with anyone to the left of the Rotary Club." In this age of left-wing, dirty-faced revolution, such tastes render a man inadequate to supply anything but woeful misinformation. Nor, according to Szulc, did he or anyone else representing State make any serious attempt to establish continuing contact with the rebels. Bennett's only close friends in the Dominican Republic before the revolt were a small group of right-wing politicians and businessmen. It was presumably on this group that he relied for information about the rebels and from whom he plucked Imbert, the puppet leader.

Bennett's lack of real information becomes crucial when one analyzes the Communism charge laid against the rebels and used to justify our commitment of troops. After giving out his famous list of Communists, Bennett was forced to admit that none of them were in the rebel leadership, but he assured the reporters they were *probably* lurking behind the scenes. This information went out unexamined on the wires, thanks to the grand tradition of news release reporting. Subsequent investigation by Szulc and others disclosed the degree of Communist involvement to be relatively minor, at least at the early stages when decisions were being made. Szulc points out that our intervention "closed all the democratic options to the rebels" and forced them further left in an almost classic replay of some of our Cuban mistakes.

At any rate, it is one of the lesser ironies of American life that the State Department is now in the process of conducting its own witch hunts, and that, in a tacit admission of intelligence failures, President Johnson has assigned the FBI to Latin America.

Szulc goes on to report the duplicity piled on absurdity as we scrambled to extricate ourselves from the treaty violation that was the Dominican invasion. It's all there: Johnson's speeches proclaim one course of action while he commands another in secret; Ameri-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can Army officers deny aiding junta troops at the very moment they were filmed doing so; the press splits along political lines and files contradictory reports; poor McGeorge Bundy negotiates an elaborate compromise only to be undercut by politicking in the White House.

To contain his explosive report, Mr. Szulc has chosen the format of a diary. The choice was a good one for it allows him to communicate the human context of the uprising: the ironies of waking at a luxurious tourist hotel, then driving downtown to cover a war. This human dimension heightens the contrast between his calm reportorial stance and the topsy-turvy chaos of stupidities he must relate, and gives rise to a growing sense of outrage in the reader.

The Political Economy of Slavery

EUGENE D. GENOVESE

Pantheon, $6.95

HOWARD N. MEYER

The Centennial of Reconstruction is upon us. It has been ignored, as a subject for popularization, by the media that Margaret Halsey recently scored for speaking "from the white community's point of view and not as spokesmen for the whole Republic." There are no articles by Bruce Catton to mark the creation of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, pioneer demonstration of the value of the Congressional power of investigation. There will be no ceremonial re-enactment of President [Andrew] Johnson's veto of the very first Civil Rights Bill. Lerone Bennett, Jr., marks the centenary with a major series on the initial exercise of political rights by the freedman, but this is limited to the readers of *Ebony* whose need is perhaps less than that of the readers of *Life*.

Having had, as a nation, but a single history, we still teach two. There is the bleached version, the consensus product, and there is the separate "Negro History." The integration of the two is difficult, a kind of operation bootstrap. There is a community of scholarship between the conservative Edmund Wilson, whose *Patriotic Gore* omitted Frederick Douglass, and the radical Christopher Lasch, who makes no reference to W.E.B. DuBois in a work, *The New Radicalism in America, 1889-1963*, that happens to cover precisely the working years of the father of Negro revolt in this century.

One learns sooner, in reading the work under review, that Professor Genovese is a white man than that he happens to be a Marxist. This is said without intent to reflect on his scholarship, which is of a higher order, and with recognition of the considerable value of his work. There is an impressive presentation of a new case for the thesis that the area that became the Confederacy was dominated by a "slave power" or "slavocracy" that would not die except by violence. For many decades this thesis has been discredited as the simplistic slogan of abolitionist agitators. In effectively marshaling economic and social data that have been associated with the revisionist advocates of the "repressible conflict" point of view, Genovese turns the tables on them.

No Negro writer, however, would consider calling the conflict of 1861-65 "The War for Southern Independence," as this book repeatedly does. This phrase, which minimizes the issue of slavery, reflects a period when sectional reconciliation was desired at any cost, even at the cost of devaluing the Negro. It is no small slight to the self-esteem, the humanity of the Southern Negro, to talk of a "Southern Independence." There is something in a mere name when the range of titles for the war is so wide: the use of this phrase in a work that sympathizes neither with the slaveholders nor their institution is puzzling, unless it is the exercise of a kind of perverse irony.

The preoccupation of Professor Genovese is with the needs, the problems, the outlook of the slaveholders in the antebellum years. Nevertheless the Negro, and his reaction to slavery, are omnipresent in a scientific analysis of the slave economy. Southern agriculture could not profit from technological advances: the slaves broke the ploughs and lost or destroyed the hoes. Reclamation of exhausted soil by chemicals or manure was impossible on any large scale: sabotage by rebellious slaves prevented it. The plantation economy was debilitated by brutal treatment accorded to livestock. "Slaves seem to have taken the greatest delight in abusing the horses, oxen, and mules, that were so essential to the day-to-day work of the plantations." Diversification of crops could not be made to pay, because the slave needed constant and too-costly supervision. Industrialization is resisted: "Whenever the slave is made

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Holy Cross Fathers Seminary
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REVIEWERS

RICHARD KOSTELANETZ *edited* The New American Arts (*Horizon*).

CHARLES HARBUTT, *a member of* Magnum, *the international photographic agency, spent several weeks covering the Dominican invasion for U. S. and European periodicals.*

HOWARD N. MEYER*'s young adult biography of U. S. Grant,* Let Us Have Peace, *was published this fall by Macmillan.*

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a mechanic" he becomes "turbulent."

Is this Sambo? The "docile Sambo," wrote William Styron, was "incapable of real resistance," crushed by a system that was able to "humble an entire people with a ruthless efficiency." Reviewing critically Aptheker's *American Negro Slave Revolts* in the *New York Review,* Styron (after paying respect to *An American Dilemma* as the product of a "period of leftist-oriented anthropology and sociology") made the claim that Elkins' *Slavery* had "demonstrated what must have been the completely traumatizing effect upon the psyche of this uniquely brutal system, which dehumanized the slave." The text and reference notes of the Genovese work furnish an unintended refutation to the docile Sambo stereotype and corroborate John Killens' picture of a Black Psyche in a constant state of actual or potential revolt.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 571*)

divine revelation, proposing it (*objectum primarium*) and, at times, defending and explaining it (*objectum secundarium*). The Church teaches with authority beyond the area of her infallibility. The authoritative, non-infallible teaching of the magisterium is often called *veritates catholicae*. The Church's position on natural law and, in particular, on birth control belong to this category. The official position on birth control has never been proposed as a doctrine of revelation but, as contained in the natural law, accessible to reason, and hence binding on Christians and non-Christians alike.

Despite the great authority the magisterium, papal or conciliar, has in this matter, it could not possibly speak on it with infallibility. The Catholic will, nonetheless, accept the authoritative teaching of the magisterium without hesitation. At the same time, licit reasons may exist for dissenting from the magisterium in this area. For a brief explanation of the binding character of *veritates catholicae* (authoritative, non-infallible teaching), see the article "Catholic Truths" in the new *Theological Dictionary* by Rahner and Vorgrimmler (Herder and Herder, 1965).

It may be worthwhile to add that in deciding the natural values of human life the magisterium does not have access to a source hidden from other Christians. The magisterium does not have some secret information which it is able to use when the rest of the Church is in doubt. In the matter of natural morality the magisterium depends on good and solid arguments and on the tested conviction of the Christian people.

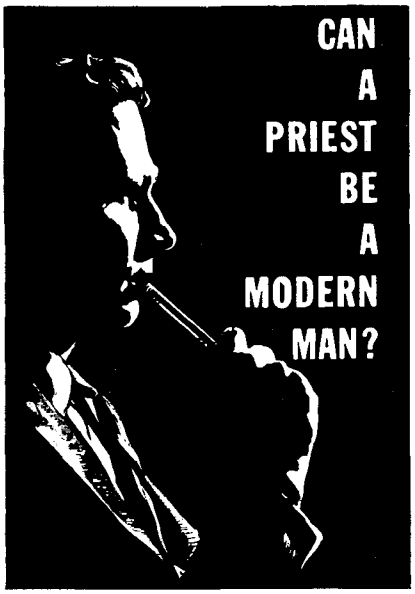
(REV.) GREGORY BAUM, O.S.A.

St. John's

Belleville, N.J.

To the Editors: In the Army there were those not attached to the Judge Advocate, yet they know their Universal Code of Military Justice. They were called Guardhouse Lawyers. The writer does not know the analogous term for a layman who has his own Codex Iuris Canonici together with the Bouscaren-Ellis commentary on it, but he feels that the reference to Canon Law in the discussion of the "Strike at St. John's" (Jan. 28) could stand some amplification. The canon cited by Father Tinnelly, requiring that philosophy and theology be taught according to the principles of the Angelic Doctor, is section 2 of Canon 1366, found in Book Three of the Code *De rebus,* Part Four *De magisterio ecclesiastico,* Title XXI *De seminariis!* But St. John's is not a seminary. If one goes to the general principles stated in the early canons, he finds Canon 19 stating that three general classes of law are to be interpreted strictly, *viz*: laws that establish penalties, laws that grant exceptions to other laws, and laws that restrict the free exercise of rights *Leges quae . . . liberum iurium exercitium coarctant . . . strictae subsunt interpretationi.* Since St. John's is not a seminary, and since the referenced canon simply does not apply.

THOMAS J. GILHEANY



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